

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-07 EUR-08 AF-04 NSC-05  
NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 SP-02 L-01 PM-03 DODE-00  
EB-04 DHA-02 SSM-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 PRS-01 /065 W  
-----000577 291130Z /15

R 281440Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7461  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 5571

LIMDIS

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, UNESCO, WHO, IS, EG, SF  
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES' CALL ON MINISTER DAYAN

BEGIN SUMMARY; ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES AND I STRESSED  
TO DAYAN JULY 25 THAT ANYTHING ISRAEL CAN DO TO LOWER  
THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF ISRAELI SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA  
WOULD BE VERY USEFUL AND WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR CURRENT  
EFFORT TO SEPARATE AFRICAN STATES FROM THEIR AUTOMATIC  
SUPPORT OF THE ARABS. DAYAN AGREED THAT ISRAEL MIGHT  
BETTER PLAY DOWN ITS TIES PUBLICLY, AND SAID THAT  
ISRAEL WOULD DO WHATEVER IT COULD TO INFLUENCE OR TO  
CHANGE SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF APARTHEID. BUT THE  
GOI WOULD NOT CARRY OUT ANY VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO  
OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY OFFICIAL  
BINDING UNSC RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A MANDATORY  
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EMBARGO. (ISRAEL WOULD, HOWEVER, COMPLY WITH FORMAL  
UNSC SANCTIONS IF ADOPTED.) DAYAN INFORMED US  
IN CONFIDENCE THAT ISRAEL HAS DECIDED TO ADMIT  
INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS FROM WHO AND UNESCO BUT ASKED  
US TO HOLD THIS INFORMATION VERY CLOSELY. MAYNES  
POINTED OUT THAT EGYPT WILL RAISE INTERNATIONALLY  
THE SUBJECT OF THE ALLEGATIONS OF ISRAELI TORTURE

OF ARAB PRISONERS AND SUGGESTED THAT ISRAEL ALSO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO AN INVESTIGATORY GROUP TO HEAD OFF THIS ANTICIPATED TROUBLE. MAYNES ALSO REVIEWED SOME UNFAVORABLE TRENDS OF THE PAST TWO MONTHS IN THE UN AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND TOLD THE ISRAELI THAT HE PERCEIVED A SERIES OF CONFLICTS AHEAD FOR ISRAEL AND A FURTHER EROSION OF SUPPORT IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE ISRAELIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AT THE UN AIMED AT ISRAEL AND REGRET THAT SINAI II DID NOT BECOME THE LANDMARK IN CREATING TRUST WHICH ISRAEL HAD HOPED. ISRAEL ANTICIPATES THAT EGYPT WILL INCREASE ITS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE UN AGENCIES AS WE GROW CLOSER TO GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND FEARS THAT THE SHARPENING CONFLICT BETWEEN EGYPT AND LIBYA MAY DRIVE THE EGYPTIANS TO EVEN MORE EXTREME STANDS AGAINST ISRAEL. THE ISRAELIS ARE CONCERNED THAT THEY ARE SPREAD TOO THINLY IN THE UN AGENCIES AND SUGGEST THAT WE CONSULT TO SELECT THOSE ISSUES WHERE ISRAEL SHOULD CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS. END SUMMARY

2. IN AN HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION JULY 25 WITH VISITING ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES AND ME, FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN SAID THAT ISRAEL WILL ATTEND THE LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID MEETING NEXT MONTH AND WILL SUPPORT EFFORTS TO FIGHT APARTHEID  
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BUT WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY MOVES TO CUT TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA. MAYNES NOTED THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN STATES AT MAPUTO AND THE GROWING DESIRE OF AFRICAN STATES FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. DAYAN SAID THAT IF THERE IS AN OFFICIAL RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY RELEVANT BODIES OF THE UN, ISRAEL WILL ABIDE BY IT. HOWEVER, IF THERE IS A CALL FOR A VOLUNTARY EMBARGO, ISRAEL WILL NOT COMMIT ITSELF NOT TO SELL TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE ABSENCE OF AN OFFICIAL BINDING RESOLUTION.

2. MAYNES SAID THAT THE U.S. IS TRYING TO MOVE VIGOROUSLY IN AFRICA TO DEVELOP COMMON INTERESTS WITH AFRICAN STATES IN ORDER TO HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THEIR POLICIES. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE OF SUCCESS; LIBYA AND IRAQ HAVE RECENTLY COMPLAINED OF U.S. EFFORTS TO UNDERCUT AFRICAN SUPPORT OF THE ARABS. ANYTHING ISRAEL CAN DO TO LOWER THE PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE HELPFUL.

3. DAYAN SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE POPULAR IN

ISRAEL AND NOTED THEIR PRESENCE OF A MAJOR JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE SAID AGAIN THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT DO MORE THAN REQUIRED BY UN RESOLUTIONS; AS LONG AS ISRAELI POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA DO NOT CONTRADICT SUCH RESOLUTIONS, ISRAEL WILL NOT CHANGE.

4. MAYNES SAID A CHANGE IN ISRAELI POLICIES WOULD ASSIST US IN MOVING THE AFRICANS AND ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS MUCH PROGRESS IN REESTABLISHING ISRAELI RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN STATES. DAYAN SAID THERE WAS NOT MUCH CHANCE OF THE REESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME. I NOTED THAT ANYTHING ISRAEL MIGHT DO TO CHANGE THE PUBLIC  
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PERCEPTION OF ITS POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA WOULD AT LEAST HELP IN THAT REGARD. I SAID THAT THE LESS PUBLICITY REGARDING ISRAELI TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA THE BETTER FOR ALL OF US, AND BETTER FOR ISRAEL ITSELF BECAUSE THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR EFFORT TO SEPARATE THE AFRICANS FROM THEIR

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R 281440Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
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INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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PREVIOUS AUTOMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE ARABS.

5. MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL EVRON ARGUED THAT THE AFRICAN ATTITUDE TO ISRAEL IS NOT AFFECTED BY ISRAEL'S SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTIONS. ALTHOUGH THE AFRICANS MAY USE ISRAELI-SOUTH AFRICAN TIES AS A PUBLIC JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR ACTIONS, IT REALLY IS ARAB PRESSURE ON THEM WHICH DETERMINES AFRICAN POSITIONS. MAYNES DISAGREED AND SAID IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SUBJECT OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS GREAT EMOTIVE POWER IN AFRICAN MINDS AND DAMAGES U.S. EFFORTS TO MINIMIZE AFRICAN TIES TO THE ARABS. SOUTH AFRICA IS A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ISSUE TO THE AFRICANS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAN SOVIET PENETRATION OF THEIR CONTINENT. EVRON NOTED THAT FRANCE IS MUCH MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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INVOLVED WITH SOUTH AFRICA THAN ISRAEL BUT THIS INVOLVEMENT HAS NOT AFFECTED FRANCE'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN STATES.

6. DAYAN SUMMED UP THIS PORTION OF THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT ISRAEL WILL DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO INFLUENCE OR CHANGE APARTHEID AND THESE EFFORTS WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE ISRAELI PEOPLE. THE AFRICAN STATES CUT RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL NOT BECAUSE OF ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA BUT BECAUSE ISRAEL COULD NOT SUPPLY THEM WITH OIL AND MONEY. WHO ARE THE AFRICAN STATES TO SAY TO ISRAEL WHAT IT SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT DO IN SOUTH AFRICA WHEN THE AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES HAD BOWED TO ARAB PRESSURE AND CUT THEIR TIES WITH ISRAEL?

7. MAYNES NOTED IN RESPONSE THAT THE SUBJECT IS NOT A MORAL ISSUE BUT A POLITICAL ONE, AND WE COULD USE SOME HELP IN THESE EFFORTS IN AFRICA. DAYAN SAID HE COULD SEE THE POINT BUT NOTED THERE ARE MANY CONFLICTING CLAIMS ON ISRAELI POLICIES AND REPEATED AGAIN THAT IF ASKED TO DO SOMETHING MORE THAN REQUIRED BY MANDATORY RESOLUTIONS, ISRAEL WOULD BE UNABLE TO DO SO. MAYNES RESPONDED THAT THERE IS A TREND IN THE POLICIES OF SEVERAL WESTERN STATES TO SHOW SOME DISTANCING FROM SOUTH AFRICA

AND IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF ISRAEL COULD BE SEEN AS  
A PART OF THAT TREND.

8. DAYAN SAID SIMPLY THAT ISRAEL MUST LIVE IN THE WORLD AS  
IT IS AND THEN TURNED TO OTHER SUBJECTS.  
MAYNES NOTED THE TROUBLESOME TRENDS WE HAVE SEEN  
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IN THE PAST TWO MONTHS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:  
THE ILO CONFERENCE IN JUNE, THE DECISION  
TO ADMIT THE PLO TO ECWA AND THE UNFAVORABLE  
RESOLUTIONS AT THE WHO ASSEMBLY IN MAY. HE SAID  
HE FELT THIS YEAR'S UNGA WOULD, IN GENERAL, BE  
LESS UNFAVORABLE THAN THE 1975 SESSION, ALTHOUGH  
THE MOOD OF THE GA COULD BE GREATLY AFFECTED BY  
PROGRESS OF LACK OF IT ON MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS  
AT GENEVA OR IN NAMIBIA.

9. DAYAN SAID HE WANTED TO GIVE US SOME GOOD NEWS  
FOR A CHANGE: THE CABINET HAS DECIDED TO ADMIT  
TO INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS TO THE  
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ONE FROM WHO AND ONE FROM  
UNESCO. THE ORGANIZATIONS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT  
YET BEEN INFORMED AND ISRAEL WILL DO SO IN ITS  
OWN GOOD TIME AND WILL BARGAIN WITH THEM REGARDING  
THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE TEAMS AND THE TERMS OF THE  
VISITS. HE ASKED US TO KEEP THIS INFORMATION VERY  
CLOSELY FOR THE TIME BEING. ISRAEL WILL SAY TO  
THE VISITORS: COME, CHECK WHAT YOU WISH, AND MAKE  
YOUR REPORTS. HE SAID HE ANTICIPATED THERE WOULD  
BE DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND  
UNFAVORABLE STATEMENTS BY WEST BANK MAYORS, BUT  
BELIEVES ISRAEL CAN LIVE WITH THESE.

10. MAYNES EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THIS  
NEWS AND WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT WAS CLEAR FROM  
HIS DISCUSSIONS IN CAIRO THAT EGYPT WILL RAISE  
THE SUBJECT OF THE RECENT SUNDAY TIMES ALLEGATION OF  
ISRAELI TORTURE OF ARAB PRISONERS. HE SUGGESTED  
THAT ISRAEL CONSIDER AN INVITATION BY AN INTER-  
NATIONAL GROUP TO LOOK INTO THIS ALLEGATION IN  
ORDER TO BE PREPARED FOR THE EGYPTIAN INITIATIVE.  
DAYAN'S REACTION WAS TO PROPOSE THAT ONE OF THE  
VISITING INVESTIGATIVE GROUPS ALSO LOOK INTO THIS  
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QUESTION, BUT EVRON NOTED NEITHER OF THEM WOULD BE THE PROPER INSTITUTION TO DO SO. DAYAN SAID HE WAS RELUCTANT TO INVITE AN ADDITIONAL GROUP; HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECOMMEND TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE THAT HE CONSIDER AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION OF THESE ALLEGATIONS BUT ONLY BY AN ALREADY EXISTING BODY. THERE SHOULD BE NO INQUIREIES INTO PAST HISTORY BUT ONLY INTO THE PRESENT SITUATION. IN PRINCIPLE, HE SAID , AGREED WITH MAYNES' SUGGESTION AND WOULD DISCUSS IT WITH OTHER MINISTERS.

11. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, EVRON REPEATED A FAMILIAR ARGUMENT ABOUT ISRAELI DISAPPOINTMENT WITH EGYPTIAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF SINAI II. HE NOTED THE HIGHLY UNFAVORABLE UNGA IN 1975 AND RECALLED THAT THE ZIONIST/RACISM RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED AT THAT TIME FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF SINAI II. ISRAEL ALWAYS FINDS EGYPT INVOLVTD IN THESE POLITICAL ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE IT AND FEELS THIS IS A VIOLATION OF THE UNDERSTANDING WHICH WAS REACHED IN 1975. HE SAID EGYPT WENT TO THE GA "BEFORE THE INK WAS DRY ON SIANI II" AND PUSHED SEVERAL UNFAVORABLE RESOLUTIONS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7463  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
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12. EVRON WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE SEES MIXED SIGNALS AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE AFRICAN STATES WANT TO DETACH THEMSELVES FROM ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN ARAB POLITICAL ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, WHILE ARAB ACTIVITY HAS NOT LET UP, AS SHOWN BY THE ECWA DECISION. ISRAEL HAS DECIDED NOT TO REACT TO THAT DECISION BUT TO PLAY IT DOWN AND AVOID DRAWING ATTENTION TO IT. HE SAID THE KEY TO FUTURE ACTIVITIES IN UN AGENCIES LIES IN U.S. HANDS. IF A FIRM U.S. POLICY IS SEEN BY THE EUROPEANS, THIS WILL SLOW DOWN THE ANTI-ISRAELI MOMENTUM.

13. I REPLIED THAT A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF OUR VIGOR AND DETERMINATION IS NOT ALWAYS THE DECIDING FACTOR AS THE JUNE ILO CONVENTION CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED. MAYNES AGREED AND SAID THAT A FIRM CONFIDENTIAL

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U.S. POSITION CAN ONLY GO SO FAR AND HE SEES A MOMENTUM AGAINST ISRAEL GAINING IN SPITE OF U.S. POLICIES.

14. MAYNES RESPONDED TO EVRON'S POINT ABOUT EGYPT BY SAYING THAT THE EGYPTIANS SAID FRANKLY DURING HIS VISIT TO CAIRO THAT SINAI II CLOSED OFF THE MILITARY OPTION AND THE ONLY TOOL LEFT TO EGYPT IS POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. EGYPT FEELS IT HAS SHOWN GREAT RESTRAINT BUT SEES HUMAN RIGHTS AS A USEFUL WEAPON FOR ATTACKING ISRAEL AND IS PREPARED TO DO SO. EGYPTIANS VIEW THEIR ACTIVITY AS RESTRAINED BECAUSE IT CAN ONLY INFLICT "RHETORICAL DAMAGE," WHILE ISRAEL'S CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF EGYPTIAN TERRITORIES IS "PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT."

15. EVRON SAID HE REGRETTED THAT THE EGYPTIANS FEELS THIS WAY. ISRAEL HAD HOPED THAT SINAI II WOULD HAVE BEEN A LANDMARK IN CREATING TRUST BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL BUT THE EGYPTIANS HAVE NOT LIVED UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS TO THE SPIRIT OF SUCH TRUST. HE THINKS THAT EGYPT FEELS THE TIME HAS COME TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AS WE MOVE CLOSER TOWARD POSSIBLE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO COMMENTED THAT THE CURRENT SHARP DISPUTE BETWEEN EGYPT AND LIBYA MAY DRIVE THE EGYPTIANS TO ADOPT MORE EXTREME MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL.

16. REGARDING ISRAEL'S ACTIVITIES IN UN ORGANIZATIONS, EVRON SAID HE IS CONCERNED THAT ISRAEL IS SPREADING ITSELF TOO THIN TO FIGHT ALL BATTLES ON  
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ALL ISSUES IN ALL ORGANIZATIONS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. AND ISRAEL CONSULT TO DECIDE WHICH ISSUES ISRAEL SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON; ISRAEL MUST SET PRIORITIES OR IT COULD BE OVERRUN ON ALL UN FRONTS. MAYNES SAID HE FELT THIS WAS A WISE APPROACH AND SUGGESTED THAT ISRAEL CONCENTRATE ON MAKING THE TARGET WHICH IT PRESENTS TO THE ARABS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AS SMALL AS POSSIBLE.

17. COMMENT: DAYAN'S STATEMENT OF POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IS AS FIRM A STATEMENT AS WE HAVE HEARD. IT IS CLEAR THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT UNDERTAKE ANY CHANGE IN ITS POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA; AT THE SAME TIME, MAYNES MAY HAVE PLANTED A SEED OF DOUBT AND DAYAN MAY REVIEW THIS SUBJECT IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. I THINK WE SHOULD WELCOME HIS STATEMENT TO US ABOUT THE TWO INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND I HOPE THAT ALL CONCERNED WILL HOLD THIS INFORMATION CLOSELY.  
LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PORG, IS, EG, SF, US, UNESCO, WHO, (DAYAN, MOSHE), (MAYNES, CHARLES WILLIAM)  
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